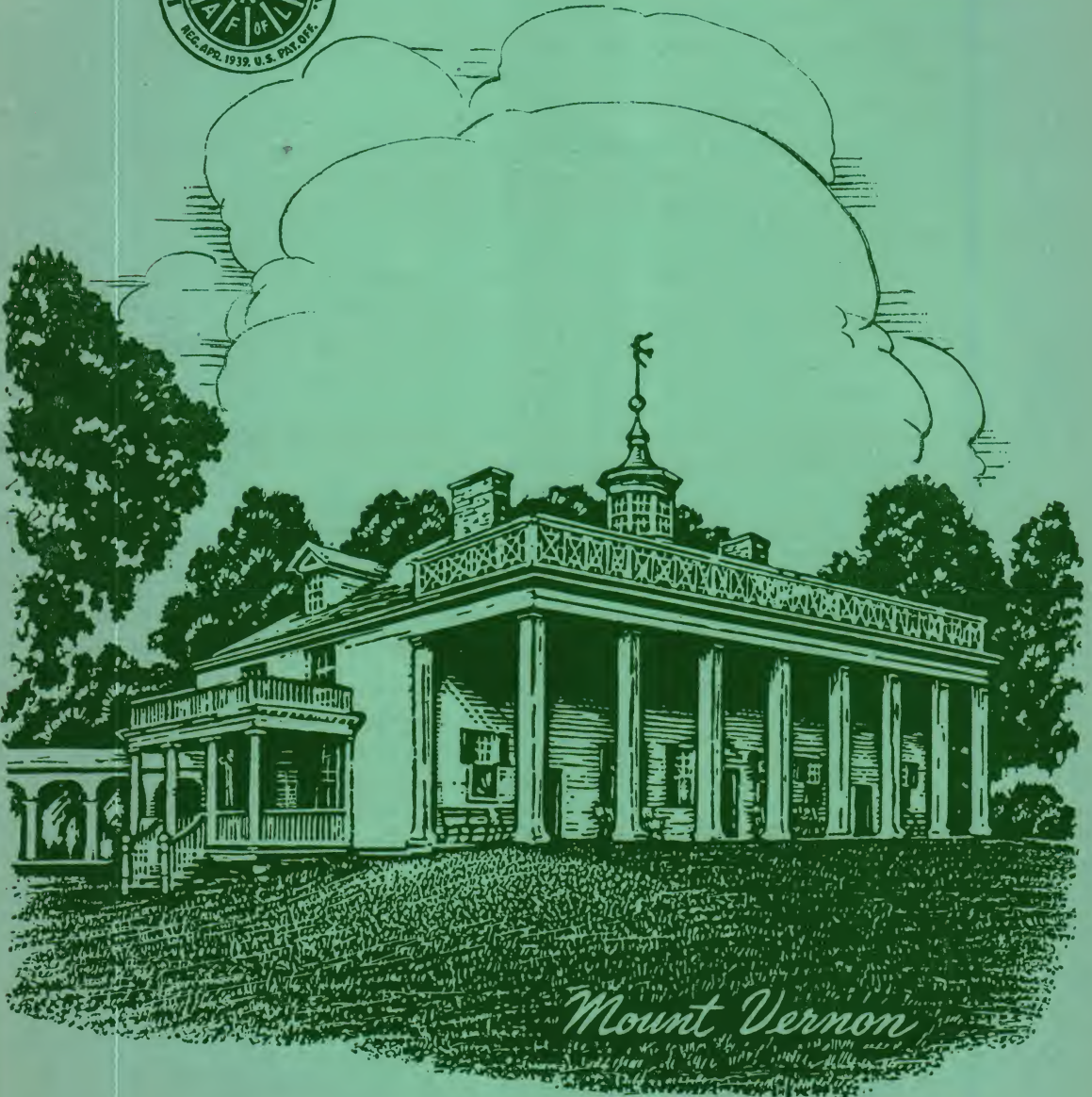


FEBRUARY • 1948

The INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER



Official Magazine

THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS • WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS OF AMERICA

Boston Strategy Successful

LOCAL No. 25 of Boston gave a demonstration of intelligent strike action last month that outwitted the employers and befuddled a governor and attorney general desperately looking for some excuse to invoke a new law to break the strike.

When some 6,000 Boston Teamsters walked off the job on New Year's Day the employers smiled and rubbed their hands. They saw a chance to use the recently enacted Slichter law authorizing the governor to seize any industry during a dispute which threatened the public health and safety.

Under this law the governor could take over the industry and force the strikers to go back to work under the conditions against which they struck.

The employers thought that was just dandy.

They got the governor to dramatically beat his breast and proclaim an emergency. That was the first step under the Slichter law. The next step would be to seize the trucking industry as soon as the strikers gave him an excuse.

But they didn't give him the excuse.

The first thing that Local No. 25 did was to carry out the orders of General President Tobin to deliver food, fuel and hospital supplies and to continue to supply all newspapers with their raw materials so that publication would be uninterrupted.

Local No. 25 put on probably the most orderly and best disciplined strike that the nation has ever seen.

It established a central telephone exchange with men on duty night and day. It then divided the city into districts and put out patrol squads to see that nobody interfered with trucks that were permitted to move and that no violence was committed in the case of any truck caught running the picket lines.

The captain of each squad reported hourly by telephone to the central headquarters. If one failed to report, a squad went out to find out why. In case of any disturbance, the captain was instructed to phone headquarters immediately.

This not only prevented irresponsible union men from committing overt acts, but it also prevented the employers from dumping their own trucks and claiming that the union did it.

The result was that the governor never got the excuse for which he was looking. And the whole state laughed to see him riding like Paul Revere to warn that the Teamsters were coming.

To the intelligent leaders and the loyal members of Local No. 25, the International Union says—"Congratulations for a difficult job well done!"

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INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS . . . WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS

Vol. XLV

FEBRUARY, 1948

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Repeal Taft-Hartley Law—Morse

Oregon Senator Cites Dangers in New Legislation

By SENATOR WAYNE L. MORSE

The following article by Senator Morse of Oregon will appear in the March issue of "Everybody's Digest," a national magazine. Senator Morse, a Republican, voted against the Taft-Hartley measure and at that time warned Congress that it was a "legislative monstrosity that will stir up constant labor unrest." "Everybody's Digest" reminds readers.

MANY, many people seem to forget this curious fact: Throughout the long history of the labor movement in this country every demand made by the nation's workers has met with consistent and often violent opposition.

Then, after each gain had been won, historians and people generally looked back and agreed that labor's so-called "demands" were just and necessary.

Go back as far as you like, the story is always the same. Even labor's long fight for free education was bitterly denounced.

As for the right to organize and bargain collectively, there is still a powerful minority of labor-hating employers who want no part of it. Unfortunately their attitude is reflected in sections of the Taft-Hartley Act.

And I want to remind you also that collective bargaining now plays a vital part in our economy. Today some 50,000 union contracts protect the wages and living standards of 15 million workers and their families. The arithmetic of these contracts is the arithmetic of democracy.

Neither the letter of the Taft-Hartley law nor the spirit in which it was written recognizes these fundamental realities.

How would I amend this statute?

The ideal way to amend the Taft-Hartley law would be to repeal it and then consider new labor legislation

based on entirely different principles and procedures.

As a practical matter, however, I look for less drastic action in Congress—action aimed at correction of it, rather than outright repeal.

It is common knowledge on Capitol Hill that many of the men who voted for this bill admitted that it contains a number of unsound provisions which must be changed. A rather sorry confession to come from supposedly responsible legislators engaged in passing a law which affects the welfare of countless workers throughout the nation.

It is also common knowledge that the Taft-Hartley law was designed not only to curb certain abuses but to weaken labor's position at the bargaining table.

In other words, this law's faults go far beyond the enactment of unworkable provisions. It weights the economic scales against those millions of Americans who depend on wages and salaries for their livelihood.

Does any fair-minded person believe we need a law which loads the dice against our working people?

Do we want to raise once more the whole issue of labor injunctions and shift the adjudication of labor disputes into the field of common law courts?

The Taft-Hartley law does both. It ignores the realities of labor relations and threatens to undermine the economic stability which we so desperately need in the months ahead.

Here are some of the more glaring imperfections in this legislative hodge-podge.

It invites a return to government by injunction.

That phrase may not mean much to some, but behind it lies a long history of strike-breaking edicts and restraints upon the legitimate rights of working people.

Not so long ago, injunctions were widely used to block not only collective bargaining but even labor's right to organize. These abuses culminated in the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Today many of the safeguards provided in that act are seriously endangered.

Consider, for example, the Taft-Hartley law's definition of the term "agent."

Apologists call it a "minor" amendment. But in reality this change makes a labor organization subject to civil suits and unfair labor practice charges because of the misconduct of any *steward or organizer in the plant* — even though the union had never authorized or approved the acts in question.

This leaves the way open for anti-labor employers to ring in labor spies, company stooges and all the strong-arm methods which were exposed by the LaFollette investigations.

That period before the Wagner Act was an ugly, violent era. We cannot afford to repeat it.

One of the worst evils of the Taft-Hartley law is that most of its unjust provisions are so cleverly devised from a legalistic standpoint that no relief will be provided labor from most court tests of the law.

In laymen's language, this means that every membership drive by a union, every effort to achieve collective bargaining, and every strike could be met

and defeated by destructive lawsuits in the courts, and hundreds of unfair labor practice charges of malcontent employees.

Let me give you one of many examples that could be cited. Under the detailed registration requirements of the Taft-Hartley Act the National Labor Relations Board cannot proceed upon the merits of any dispute until they first find that the union has met all the registration requirements of the act.

Because this section of the bill is so loaded down with detailed technical requirements, employers can delay board action almost indefinitely.

So far as the unions go, this is like telling a citizen whose house is being burglarized that he cannot have any police protection because his taxes are in arrears.

Such legislation is neither fair nor workable — though it will provide a field day for lawyers.

There are so many grounds for litigation under this act that hostile employers can keep a union treasury bankrupt. Add the inevitable delays that legal procedures involve and you have a perfect formula for industrial unrest.

The Taft-Hartley law lays down special rules of procedure and evidence to be applied only to the National Labor Relations Board.

This is class legislation with a vengeance, for it singles out this board as an exception to the Administrative Procedures Act, passed by Congress in 1946.

Thus the NLRB is subject to rules which do not apply to the railroads under the Interstate Commerce Commission or to industry generally under the Federal Trade Commission or to the radio industry under its commission.

Specifically, the bill vests dictatorial power in the general counsel of the

board. He has final authority in respect to investigation and prosecution of charges and issuance of complaints.

To me that is a very dangerous and wholly unnecessary step. I do not know where a superman can be found to exercise such sweeping power over the handling of labor relations cases in this country.

Think for a moment what lies behind these cases. Fundamentally they are social and economic issues, growing out of the human relations that exist between employers and workers.

They are bread and butter issues which affect the lives and living standards of millions of workers and their families.

The Taft-Hartley law attempts to force the settlement of these social and economic issues into the strait-jackets of court procedures and legal technicalities.

The whole history of the American labor movement shows that both free workers and free employers have always opposed such attempts.

Now, more than ever, we need to preserve and strengthen the basic principle of voluntary action which must and should characterize employer-employee relationships.

We do not want the government or the courts to dominate that relationship, a relationship traditionally based on give and take between free groups.

Another very dubious provision of the Taft-Hartley law discriminates against both labor and those employers who are located in certain states—states which maintain good labor standards.

To see how this two-edged sword may cut, you must remember that the only jurisdiction that Congress has over labor relations grows out of its constitutional authority to regulate interstate commerce.

Now it is obvious that any federal rule regulating labor should apply equally throughout the United States.

But under the Taft-Hartley Act, if one state passes a more stringent labor control, that measure in effect supercedes the federal law in that state.

This is bound to produce conflicting and often contradictory labor policies among the different states. And that lack of uniformity will breed strikes and industrial unrest.

It will also cause unfair competition from states which enact laws to beat down labor and encourage sweat shops. It is a backward step for employers and employees alike.

Now it is time to consider that ticklish and very controversial subject: jurisdictional disputes.

Nothing better illustrates the vindictive and mistaken philosophy behind the Taft-Hartley Act.

Instead of providing machinery for settling these family quarrels, the act declared them to be illegal. As if that edict could possibly prevent the honest differences of opinion that arise between labor organizations over which union is entitled to perform certain work.

It would be just as sensible to pass a law making it illegal for two property owners to quarrel over their boundary line.

There is nothing unlawful about a jurisdictional dispute. In our complex industrial structure, with production methods and materials undergoing constant change, disputes are inevitable.

What is needed for their settlement is a decision as to the rights of the disputants based on the merits of the controversy.

The decision should be rendered by experts in the field of labor relations who know a great deal about the his-

tory and practices of work assignments among crafts and unions.

Surely arbitration, rather than court action, is the fairest and most workable solution to the problem of jurisdictional strikes.

I made that proposal, calling for compulsory arbitration of such disputes. This procedure was generally recognized as the most severe that can be imposed. I believe it is necessary if innocent employers and the public are to be protected from these family quarrels within the house of labor.

Instead, the new rules governing such cases now provide for (1) a hearing before a staff member of the NLRB on the merits of the jurisdictional dispute with (2) review of his recommendations by the board followed by (3) efforts to obtain compliance with the determination of the board, which, if not forthcoming, is followed by (4) a hearing on the unfair labor practice charge with (5) a review by the board and (6) judicial review of the entire proceeding on the wide basis now allowed by the statute.

No such proceeding could be completed short of two years!

A good many qualified observers agree that this routine should be called six steps to industrial chaos.

There is plenty of mischief, too, in the remedy for contract violations—haul the union into court. As everyone familiar with labor relations knows, many union agreements are rather loosely drawn and the terms may be

subject to different interpretations.

Our courts are not well equipped to decide these issues. The vast majority of such cases should go before an administrative agency like the National Labor Relations Board. I made that proposal, but this common sense remedy was rejected in favor of court action.

In my view, this high-handed action will work against the best interests of employers and employees. And certainly it takes us in the direction of more and more government interference with the economic life of our citizens.

Once a government starts to exercise the power to direct the relations which shall exist between supposedly free workers and free employers it is not many steps away from a regimented economy.

I have listed here some of my major objections to the Taft-Hartley law. There are many other provisions which I believe to be unsound—where they are not unconstitutional. As you might expect, it is the constitutional rights of our workers that are most seriously jeopardized.

In my judgment, the entire section of the act which seeks to destroy the political rights of workers acting through their unions is unconstitutional. It certainly is unfair and un-American.

Yes, I would repeal the Taft-Hartley law. But while it is on the statute books, let us enforce it. Strict enforcement will show how far this measure fails to meet the social and economic needs of a free people.

NET INCOME OF "BIG FIVE" FOOD CHAINS IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS!

Name of Chain	1940	1945	1946
A & P Tea Company.....	18.3	12.3	30.2
American Stores Co.....	1.0	2.0	8.3
Food Fair Stores.....	0.7	0.9	3.6
Kroger Company.....	4.6	5.6	9.4
Safeway Stores, Inc.....	4.8	5.1	11.4

AFL Outlines Political Program

Executive Council Reports to Conference of Presidents

How organized labor and its friends can function in the coming political campaigns to defeat the enemies of labor and elect friendly candidates was outlined by the AFL executive council to a conference of presidents of national and international AFL unions in Washington in December.

Because of the necessity of such action and the restrictions placed on

political action by labor unions, the full report of the executive council is published as a guide to local unions and joint councils.

Every Teamster and every Teamster's union should cooperate to the limit in mobilizing the full strength of labor in the coming primary and general elections.

The executive council report follows:

The United States Congress having placed unwarrantable and highly destructive limitations and restrictions upon the rights of wage earners to voluntary organization and their effective functioning in the industrial as well as the legislative and political fields, it is imperative that labor, organized as well as unorganized, meet this challenge of unwarrantable limitations and restrictions upon the rights and liberties of the workers of America.

The enactment of the Taft-Hartley law has not only awakened a greater interest in political action on the part of labor, indeed, its provisions, particularly as they relate to political activities on the part of our trade unions make it imperative for labor to organize in the political field under terms and conditions required by the Taft-Hartley law if we are to re-establish the rights of the workers of America to free and voluntary organization for mutual benefit and advancement and for their full participation in all matters affecting the well-being of wage earners and the welfare of the public.

At no previous time in history have the rank and file members, as well as

the leaders of labor, been so aroused as at present to the imperative need of organization on the political field.

The real import of the Taft-Hartley law has as yet not been experienced. This is fast coming to pass as more and more of our trade unions, as well as fair employers and managers of industry come to conference for purposes of continuing their former peaceful and co-operative relations and under terms and conditions heretofore held perfectly proper and legal and tested by time and experience as safe and sound from every point of view.

It is difficult to understand that that which was constitutional, right, sound and proper yesterday should be unlawful and unsound today.

An immediate result has already developed wherein bitter feeling has increased and wherein both management and labor are resorting to various devices and subterfuges to evade and avoid an ill-conceived, obnoxious, unworkable and destructive congressional enactment.

Legislation that drives workers and management to resort to such methods is certainly not in the interests of the

public good and does not make for industrial stability.

There are many other issues agitating the peace of mind of wage earners, organized and unorganized. We are met with hostile anti-labor legislation in a number of states.

While every effort is being made through the courts to frustrate these unconstitutional and unwarrantable restrictions upon the wage earners of our land and upon their trade unions, nevertheless, these efforts must be supplemented by political action.

Then, too, there are such issues as high prices, housing, health, wage and hour legislation, the growth of corporate control, monopoly, taxation and the like requiring the attention of the workers of our land.

A number of our international unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies have already established various mechanisms for carrying on political activities. Obviously, coordination and extension of these efforts is eminently desirable.

Our immediate task is to bring to a realization to our people everywhere the problems involved and to galvanize the workers of America, their friends and sympathizers into concrete action along definite and public-spirited channels.

It was in this spirit and to the attainment of these objectives that the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco, last October 6th to the 16th, recommended the formation of "Labor's Educational and Political League" and the calling of a conference of the presidents of all the affiliated national and international unions for the purpose of completing the structure, outlining the methods of procedure and in giving early and effectual realization to the political activities

made imperative under present conditions and circumstances.

The convention recommended that:

1. It shall be the duty of Labor's Educational and Political League to prepare and disseminate information by such media of communication as the league may decide for the purpose of acquainting the workers of the nation with the economic and political policies of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The league shall prepare and disseminate information concerning the attitude of candidates for nomination and election to federal offices, with particular reference to their attitudes toward the political and economic policies of the American Federation of Labor.

3. The league shall take such other actions as it may deem advisable in furtherance of its objectives.

4. The league shall provide for the raising of necessary funds, for the conduct of its business, in such manner as it may determine.

5. The league shall be authorized to employ staff members necessary to conduct its business and fix their compensation and expenses.

To effectuate these purposes and attain these objectives, the convention directed the calling of this conference of presidents of the affiliated national and international unions.

In so doing the following proposals are submitted for consideration and disposition by the conference as will meet the wholehearted approval of all affiliates and we hope, too, will commend themselves to all persons and organizations interested in the preservation and perpetuity of the rights and liberties of free workers, free trade unions as well as of free enterprise.

1. A national committee shall be set up, consisting of the following:

- (a) The American Federation of Labor executive council members.
 - (b) The presidents of all the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.
2. The national committee shall elect a chairman and a secretary-treasurer for the league for the year 1948.
3. An administrative committee consisting of the members of the AFL executive council and of 15 representatives of national and international unions selected by the national committee.
4. That each national and international union set up its own committee for the purpose of raising funds and such other duties as time and experience require. It is also proposed that local union campaign committees be formed to operate under the direction of the national and international union campaign committees to carry out the purposes of the league.
5. State federations of labor and city central labor unions shall set up state and city-wide committees independent of their trade unions, and which shall embrace representation of each craft and class organized in the state or city, and, as far as practicable, each congressional district should be represented on the state committee from among the several organizations.
6. The national committee shall meet whenever called into conference by the administrative committee or when petitioned by at least a majority number of affiliates.
7. The administrative committee and all other committees shall meet at such time and places as may be determined by them and under such rules as may be adopted by them.
8. A national director and such staff as may be necessary shall be appointed

by the administrative committee to direct and manage the activities of the league under guidance and direction of the administrative committee.

9. Regional directors may be appointed by the administrative committee to advise and guide local groups and assist them in the techniques of campaign, to help them to cooperate with other elements in the community and to correlate the work of the different districts.

10. A cooperative alliance may be formed with friendly and cooperative groups in the various congressional districts, such as non-Communist liberal organizations and which receive the approval of both the local committees concerned and of the administrative committee.

A national headquarters shall be set up to assist local organizations, particularly in the fields of research and publicity. Its duties shall include:

- (a) Compiling detailed records on candidates, including useful quotations from their speeches.
- (b) Preparing radio material, including recordings of dramatic programs, short spot announcements, etc.
- (c) Preparing model speeches and press releases.
- (d) Preparing model ad layouts for newspapers, preparing handbills, etc.
- (e) Preparing special features, with charts, cartoons, etc., for labor papers.
- (f) Coordinating the work of state and local committees through regional organizers or offices.

The administrative committee, after consultation and advice of state federations and central bodies, shall recommend congressional and senatorial endorsements subject to the approval of the national committee.

It is of utmost importance to bring

about the largest possible registration of union members, their friends, associates and sympathizers and in getting out the votes.

In this connection, attention is called to action of the recent AFL convention heartily approving the policy of mobilizing labor's strength so that it can be made most effective on election day.

In addition to favoring legislation making either primaries, or election day, or both, legal holidays, the convention recommended that "affiliated organizations and their local unions, in negotiating agreements with employers, include provisions which would assure the workers a holiday or an adequate opportunity to perform their essential obligations as citizens and to demonstrate the effective part they can, and which they should play in the election of public officials."

The broadest possible cooperation of approved, friendly and sympathetic groups is to be encouraged.

Thought should be given to the manner of enlisting reasonable support of the membership of government employees, not in violation of the Hatch Act.

Women's auxiliaries should be given representation on local committees and be called on for service on all occasions.

The Taft-Hartley law shall be one of the principal issues in noting the candidates' records on that point, as well as other measures designed to benefit the workers and their trade unions as well as measures designed for the public good.

The administrative committee shall determine the congressional and senatorial districts where the efforts of the league should be most concentrated. Wherever primary elections are the determining factor, stress is to be laid on such primary campaigns.

A constant and ever progressive educational and public relations program is to be engaged in making use of all media of communication as time and opportunity permit.

As indicated in the recommendations adopted at the recent AFL convention, funds for the conduct of the LEPL, made imperative by the Taft-Hartley law, shall be raised by voluntary contributions. Trade union funds cannot be used for this purpose.

To that end, it is proposed:

1. A special finance committee be appointed consisting of such members as the administrative committee may determine. Further that such finance committee, in addition to designing the plan for carrying on the appeal for voluntary contributions, prepare and recommend from time to time to the administrative committee the budgeting and distribution of funds received.

2. It is proposed that each national and international union appoint its own committee to carry on the appeal among its members for voluntary contributions. It is suggested, in this connection, that a goal of not less than one dollar per member be set for 1948 and that at least 50 cents of each dollar contributed be allocated by the national and international union campaign committees to the league. It is further proposed that the local committees cooperate with all national and international unions in this appeal.

3. The administrative committee shall determine the amount of funds to be allocated for use from time to time by the state and other local committees.

It is urgent that all national and international unions cooperate to the fullest extent in this appeal and leave no stone unturned to assure the success of the campaign about to be inaugurated.

As stated at the recent AFL conven-

tion, if we are to serve most effectively the interests of the workers of the nation and adequately meet the challenge presented by predatory and vested interests, we must then wholeheartedly respond to the urgency of the occasion and unitedly cooperate in the highest possible degree to the early attainment of the ends for which it is proposed to form and launch Labor's Educational

and Political League—the restoration of the rights of labor as heretofore enjoyed and the realization of a more sound and equitable labor relations policy on the part of our nation and a more wholesome life and fairer and more equitable distribution of the fruits of industry—of management and labor—under a system of free enterprise, free trade unions and free workers.

Make Plans for Political Action

Executive Board Will Keep Local Unions Informed

By DANIEL J. TOBIN

THE general executive board from time to time will advise our people as to how to proceed towards carrying out the intent and purpose of the declaration arrived at in Washington at the meeting of the general presidents of international unions. The full report is published on preceding pages.

We will have more information later on. In the meantime, any local union that desires to can set up its machinery based on the plan outlined and hold the contributions from the membership and their friends which it may obtain.

This money must be kept in a separate fund. Any expense incurred on the part of the committees should not be charged to the unions.

A separate meeting place for the committee and a separate office must be established and it cannot be paid for by the local unions or by any assessment on the membership through the unions.

We carried on this kind of work in the campaign of 1944 and we were completely within the law and it can be done again, but the main thing is not to

charge the unions for any kind of expense incurred with the collection of individual donations or subscriptions.

While the plan specifies that at least one dollar should be donated and collected from each person, that also means that any individual can give more than a dollar. The subscription list or the donations are not confined to union members, but take in all their friends, no matter in what employment or business they are engaged. This method has been approved, adopted and successfully put into effect by the British Labor Party. This is not the starting of a labor or third party. It may lead to it in the coming years if and when labor is united.

Again we advise you locally and elsewhere to endorse no candidates for presidential office until after nominations have taken place next summer in the national conventions of both major parties. Until we know who the nominees are and what they stand for and what kind of platforms are adopted by the major political parties, it is impossible to take intelligent action.

Less than 30 per cent of all the **organizable** workers in the U. S. are members of unions.

Strikes Caused by Strike Laws

Drastic Massachusetts Act Fails in First Test

By LESTER M. HUNT

This issue of the magazine was delayed in the hope that a settlement could be reported in the Boston strike involving some 6,000 members of Local No. 25. Because of new tactics used by the employers in invoking a radical state law in addition to the Taft-Hartley Act, the strike is of national significance. At the time of going to press the employers were still stalling, hoping that the Taft-Hartley Act would win the strike for them. For the first three weeks of the strike, which began January 1, they relied on the Slichter law, discussed below.

How laws ostensibly intended to prevent strikes actually produce them was glaringly illustrated last month in Massachusetts.

In this state the Slichter law received its first test in a dispute between Local No. 25 and the employers' group of Motor Freight Carriers, Inc.

And it caused a crippling strike which ran for three weeks before any negotiation or conciliation got under way.

Had it not been for the Slichter law, the parties to the dispute would have been in negotiation long before the contract expired and the strike in all probability would never have occurred at all.

The Slichter law is even more drastic than the Taft-Hartley Act. It is one of the state laws invited by the provision of the federal law which states that in any state having more severe laws, the local laws shall supersede the federal.

This section was clearly intended to encourage states to pass laws of such severity that labor would be enmeshed in injunctions, red tape and lawsuits and unable to function efficiently.

In this way Congress attempted to pass still more stringent laws for which it would escape responsibility. Under this method, the state legislatures would enact the laws and draw the fire while the congressmen stepped neatly aside.

Prof. Slichter of Harvard took this

mandate seriously. He decided to write a law.

Another professor, Douglass V. Brown of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, assisted him. And when the professorial brainstorm had subsided, Massachusetts had a law which permits the governor to seize practically any industry threatened by strike and to compel the strikers to return to work under the wages and conditions against which they struck.

The law authorizes the governor to appoint a moderator who "shall be an impartial person skilled in industrial relations."

And who do you think Gov. Robert F. Bradford selected as his skilled and impartial moderator in the Teamster dispute? None other than Prof. Brown, one of the authors of the law.

Even Prof. Brown was somewhat discomfited by his appearance as impartial moderator of a law he had helped to draft.

When newspaper men asked him if it was not true that he had helped Prof. Slichter, Prof. Brown let loose with a naive answer that sent laughter echoing through the newspaper and legal professions.

"I didn't write the legal parts of it," Prof. Brown said.

Evidently Prof. Brown admits that there are illegal parts of the law or else

he thinks that a law is partly legal and partly fictional.

From the results, almost any definition will do.

But Gov. Bradford liked it. He sent a message to the legislature last year urging its passage.

Then for several months it lay, like a loaded rifle over the fireplace, waiting for the hunting season to begin.

The big truck operators of Boston were entranced by the sight of the legal weapon held by the governor. They believed it would supplant collective bargaining, permit them to defy the union and that the state would bludgeon the Teamsters into submission. Consequently, they refused to bargain and precipitated the crisis that would invoke the Slichter law.

On New Year's Eve, Gov. Bradford called the employer and union representatives into his office and attempted to induce them to arbitrate a dispute that had never been negotiated, or even seriously discussed with the union by the employers.

To make certain that the Slichter law would be invoked, the employers refused to arbitrate all points at issue.

The governor then issued a proclamation declaring an emergency and proceeded to operate under the Slichter law.

He appointed the professor as moderator and required the disputants to appear before him to show cause why they should not submit the dispute to arbitration.

The Slichter law prescribes this procedure and allows 15 days for the moderator to "endeavor to induce the parties to submit the dispute to arbitration." The law permits either public or private hearings.

The Teamsters wanted a public hearing because they wanted the public to

know all the facts in the controversy. The employers wanted to operate secretly so the public would not know the facts.

Brown ruled that the hearings should be secret. For 15 days truck operations were interrupted in one of the nation's largest cities while the professor puttered.

During these 15 days the state board of conciliation and arbitration attempted to get the Teamsters and the employers together, but the employers refused to bargain on the ground that the board had no authority to act while Brown pondered.

This further indicated that the employers viewed the Slichter law as a strike-breaking law which set aside all other agencies seeking to amicably adjust the dispute.

At the end of the 15-day hearing, the union had refused to accept arbitration and the employers had refused to accept anything else.

Brown then extended the hearings for another three days while the governor put the squeeze on the Teamsters, threatening to seize the trucking industry immediately unless the Teamsters accepted arbitration.

As described by International Representative Nicholas P. Morrissey, directing the strike for the International, this was nothing but "compulsory arbitration offered with a shotgun pointed at us." The Teamsters rejected it.

After originally refusing to accept arbitration, the employers had suddenly reversed themselves as the hearings were drawing to a close and offered to arbitrate everything.

It was obvious that they did this to pave the way for seizure of the industry by the governor.

But after marching up the hill with the state police and the national guard,

the governor suddenly marched down again. He did not invoke the law, which President James V. Hurst of Local No. 25 challenged him to do. (See Page 25.)

He did not do so because he knew the International was ready for him. Attorney J. Albert Woll of Washington had come to Boston to confer with Attorney Francis Doherty and prepare court action contesting the constitutionality of the law and the right of the governor to act under its provisions.

Frank Tobin, in charge of the International statistical department, had likewise come in from Washington prepared to analyze the books of the trucking companies as soon as the governor made them agencies of the state.

Attorneys Woll and Doherty were prepared to insist that the trucking books became state records open to public inspection as soon as the companies were taken over by the state.

And Mr. Tobin was on hand to scrutinize the methods of operation to determine whether or not the companies could pay higher wages as demanded by the Teamsters.

They were also prepared to prove that no emergency existed to justify seizure by the governor.

So the governor fidgeted for a couple of days and finally changed his mind, saying that he had never intended to seize the entire industry, but only the food trucks.

Yet those were the only trucks in Boston which had operated with no interruption from the beginning of the strike.

When the governor backed down, the Teamsters were deprived of the opportunity to test the law in the courts and it still hangs as a threat over every labor union in Massachusetts.

The Slichter law permits the governor

to seize "any plant or facility" of a party to a dispute, "operation of which by the commonwealth he deems to be necessary to safeguard the public health or safety."

When a plant or industry is thus seized it may be operated by "such public or private instrumentalities or persons as may be designated by the governor."

Under these provisions, the governor's opinion is all the authority required to seize an industry involved in a labor dispute, even though there has been no strike at the time of seizure.

He could then permit the industry to operate under its owners as "private persons" selected by the state.

The same section of the law authorizes industries so seized to bring petition for damages against the state for losses suffered during the period of state operation. It exposes the state treasury to raids by employers. This protects the employer completely. But what about the workers? Here's the law:

"During such emergency the rates of pay, wages, hours and other terms and conditions of employment theretofore effective shall be maintained without change."

This means the employees work under exactly the same conditions that brought about the dispute and which the employees were seeking to correct.

As if that is not bad enough, the law authorizes the appointment of a special board of arbitrators which may "make recommendations concerning the rates of pay, wages, hours and terms and conditions of employment for the period of public operation which may be made effective *in the discretion of the governor.*"

Under this section of the law, the governor could actually reduce wages and lengthen hours.

And what happens to any strike in effect at the time of seizure?

Here is Prof. Slichter's answer:

"During such emergency it shall be unlawful for any person to engage in any concerted cessation of work or other concerted activities interfering or threatening to interfere with the operation of any plant or facility which is being operated by the commonwealth for the purpose of bringing about any change in rates of pay, wages, hours, terms or conditions of employment."

That means the strike is over and no further strike is permitted while the state holds the property.

But Prof. Slichter is not through. He lectures further. He makes it unlawful for any person:

"To aid or encourage any such concerted cessation of work or *other concerted activities* by giving direction or guidance to the conduct thereof or by providing funds for the payment of strike, unemployment or other benefits to persons participating therein, or to violate any rule or regulation promulgated by the governor . . ."

Then Prof. Slichter enjoys a whimsical joke. He says:

"Nothing in this chapter shall be construed as requiring any individual employee to render labor or service without his consent."

But if he doesn't work, his union cannot give him any relief and he is likewise prohibited from obtaining any employment compensation from the state.

And if any charity should attempt to

feed the families of men who exercised their right to refuse to work, they would violate the Slichter law.

How long can the governor hold such a plant or industry? As long as he wants to until both parties "shall jointly report in writing to the governor that they have executed an agreement terminating or adjusting said dispute and that they are in a position to resume or continue without interruption the operation of any plant or facility for the production or distribution of essential goods or services."

Thus an employer could prolong state operation indefinitely simply by refusing to make such a report.

In the Slichter law, Massachusetts has a statute which makes the Taft-Hartley Act look like pro-labor legislation. Yet the Taft-Hartley Act inspired Prof. Slichter to take his pen in hand.

And the Taft-Hartley Act recognizes the authority of the Slichter law and suspends the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act in certain instances where Slichter was tougher than Taft.

It is probable that the Slichter law will be presented to the legislatures of all other states as enemies of organized labor launch a nation-wide drive to build a stockade around union men.

Massachusetts, the shrine of American liberty where the Pilgrims first landed to establish freedom, has become the cradle of worse injustice than that from which its founders fled. It is indeed "a stern and rockbound coast."

DIVISION OF PROFITS WOULD REDUCE STRIFE

The cause of practically all conflicts between capital and labor has been the "wage system." It always has been and always will be the cause of contention between employer and employee until we create a system whereby profits are equitably divided among those who produce them, thereby providing a differential which will eliminate a wage scale as the sole basis of worker compensation. So long as wages are the only link connecting the interests of employer and employee, just so long will conflict continue.—*Kansas City Labor Bulletin.*

Wisconsin Driver is Commended

Richard G. Johnson Cited for Helping Stranded Cars

A WISCONSIN Teamster has been named driver-of-the-month by the Minnesota Motor Transport Association for "extraordinary courtesy" to motorists during hazardous highway conditions.

The driver honored is Richard G. Johnson, a member of Local No. 662 of Eau Claire.

As reported in the official publication of the Minnesota employers, Mr. Johnson was driving a semi-trailer along U. S. Highway No. 12 when he reached the crest of an icy incline and noted several cars stalled below him.

He parked his equipment and went down the hill on foot to shovel cinders under the spinning wheels of the automobiles. He followed several up the hill, providing traction with the cinders, when they started to slide.

All the travelers went their way singing the praises of the "unknown driver" who had helped them.

One couple, Mr. and Mrs. Robert G. Schulze of Elk Mound, Wis., took the trouble to write a letter to the Schumacher Motor Express, employers of Mr. Johnson, to express their appreciation.

Investigation by the company disclosed that it was Mr. Johnson who had won so much good will.

In their letter the Schulzes said:

"Ours was one of the cars your man helped clear to the top and my wife and I just wanted you to know of the exceptional courtesy of your driver.

"We fully realize your trucks operate

on schedule and though your driver could have gotten down the hill, the driver risked a reprimand for being late and spent at least half an hour during the time we were there, helping other drivers."

In reporting the incident to International headquarters, Secretary-Treasurer Norman H. Kleist of Local No. 662 said that Mr. Johnson has been a member of the local since 1939 except for 3½ years spent in military service.

Mr. Johnson was recently awarded a five-year award for driving that length of time with no accident.

It is such acts of assistance on the highways that make friends for the Teamsters' Union. Many incidents occur which are never reported to the employers or to the union.

The drivers just perform them as a matter of course, expecting no recognition. Whenever the International learns of them, we take pride in publicizing them.

There has never been a time when our union needed friends as badly as we need them today. Our union is the target of attack by the enemies of labor. As the nation's strongest union, they are choosing us first, knowing that if they can defeat us, they can then mop up on the rest of labor.

We will need many friends outside our own ranks to win that battle. Men like Brother Johnson are providing them for us. He performed a service for his union, as well as for the helpless motorists, when he went to their aid.

Hoover's voice against rationing is to be expected. What else from the man who viewed the great depression as a local situation to be cared for by local agencies?

—Colorado Labor Advocate.

Congress Weighs Two Tax Plans

One Would Help Corporations, the Other Helps You

THE present fight in Congress over tax reduction presents clearly the basic difference between the liberal and reactionary forces now struggling for ascendancy in the United States.

The liberals demand reduction in the taxes on low incomes while the reactionaries are mainly interested in reducing the taxes on large incomes.

The tax reduction program sponsored by the reactionaries through Congressman Knutson of Minnesota would cut income taxes, particularly on big incomes.

It would help the corporation executives.

The tax program proposed by the President would give the greatest relief to low incomes and would make up the loss by increasing the taxes on corporations.

It would in effect restore the excess profits tax which a servile Congress repealed for the benefit of industry while enacting laws to damage labor.

The excess profits tax should never have been repealed. Its repeal was a stimulant to inflation by permitting corporations to make greater profits than they ever made before. It increased prices and decreased wages because it reduced the value of the dollar.

The reactionaries in Congress are complaining bitterly about tax increases. They want the Knutson plan with percentage decreases on income taxes of individuals and no increase on the taxes of corporations.

Knutson would reduce income taxes

30 per cent on the lowest incomes and 10 per cent on the highest incomes.

This would look like a break for the little taxpayer. Actually it is a break for the big one.

For instance, a man who pays \$100 a year in taxes would save \$30. But the man who makes \$100,000 a year would save \$10,000.

Under the administration tax plan each taxpayer would get a tax reduction of \$40 for himself and for each dependent.

Thus a man with two children who pays \$160 per year in income tax would pay nothing at all under the Truman plan.

But under the Knutson plan, he would still pay \$112.

Under the Truman plan, a man earning a salary of \$25,000 or more would save \$160, just like the little wage earner struggling to keep his cupboard from going bare.

If Congress adopts the administration tax plan, it would be the equivalent of a wage increase, because it would eliminate the weekly payroll deductions for millions of workers and at the same time it would stabilize prices by taking away more of the excess profits of corporations and reducing the incentive for profiteering.

If Congress wants to help the wage earners of this country, this is its chance.

You had better watch Congress, if you want a wage increase. Whatever your employer gives you, Congress can take away from you.

In all but six states unemployment benefits average less than \$20 a week.

Public Payrolls Ease Depressions

By ARTHUR A. ELDER

Workers' Education Bureau of America

WHEN boom gives way to bust, as it does periodically in this country, the continued employment of government employees, at relatively high wages, can be an important factor in starting a trend toward prosperity.

Ten per cent of the population, maintaining its purchases, secure in its employment and hence not afraid to spend, can help keep workers employed, and can hold back the spiral of deflation.

These facts are seldom understood or considered by the average citizen. Generally, he is unconcerned about the wages of his public employees until there is a cry for retrenchment in government expenditures and the average citizen joins to press against paying the taxes necessary to provide decent wages in the public service.

In June, 1945, more than 2,915,476 persons were employed by the United States government. This figure does not include military, naval, judiciary, or employees stationed outside the continental United States. Another 2½ million persons are employed by municipal, state, county, city and local governments. These make up approximately 10 per cent of the total labor force of the nation.

Strange contradictions are evident in the attitude of the public toward government employees. Too often the approach is one of biting off one's nose to spite one's face. We deny government employees the right to strike, close our eyes to the fact that the overwhelming majority of them receive lower wages than they would in private industry, relegate them to a statistic or call them "bureaucrats," refuse to agree to taxes

necessary to maintain decent wages for them, regard any efforts to obtain wage increases or real economic status for them as pump-priming, politics, and coercion of their "duly-elected representatives." We envision millions of them lolling in Washington, while actually 99 per cent of the nation's civil servants are scattered throughout the country!

Yet this group must grow in size and importance. As both industry and agriculture are able to obtain more and more production out of fewer workers, a major problem of the future will be to find useful functions for the persons who are displaced from the factories and the farms.

A rational solution would be to divert these people more and more to the provision of needed services for the community. Inevitably this will mean a large proportion of new services provided by government agencies. Even with consideration for postwar cut-backs, the indications are that government employment will need to remain high and gradually increase. It would be a sensible approach to recognize government employment as one of the means for promoting prosperity, particularly in periods when the economy has begun to slide downward toward depression.

In this connection it is essential that the wages of public employees be as flexible as those of industrial workers and be raised when increases in wages or prices are the rule. We can no longer tolerate, for the sake of the national economy, a situation in which, for example, postal employees waited from

1924 to 1945 for a wage raise and then had to start immediately working toward another because of the skyrocketing cost of living.

In his report to the Congress on January 8, 1947, the President of the United States acknowledged the tremendous need for teachers, doctors, nurses, etc. Further, he asked that public works hereafter be regarded as a means of meeting the nation's needs rather than a device to restore the economy when it sags.

Public works which will benefit the community and the nation's economy as a whole means public *workers*, and they should be regarded as workers.

The work done by the employees of federal, state and local governments is indispensable to living in our complex civilization.

From local police and fire protection, the post office, up to provision for the facilities for labor board elections, the services of the government make the difference between life and death, freedom or slavery, relative peace or civil war.

The new services we must receive from the government are equally essential. As we must provide for better health, recreation, education, transportation and entertainment than we have previously enjoyed as a nation—we can see these services provided for us by the very people who are displaced from agriculture and industry. Adopting this reasonable approach toward government employees, paying them decent wages, will help promote prosperity in both the economic and cultural life of the nation.

Thanks to San Francisco Joint Council

By DANIEL J. TOBIN

Lest it be forgotten, I want to take this opportunity in behalf of the International organization of expressing my sincere thanks and appreciation to the joint council and its representatives in San Francisco for the wonderful reception they gave to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor while we were in attendance at that convention in October.

The banquet and the entertainment prepared for us was held at one of the highest class places of entertainment in San Francisco and was something that could hardly be duplicated in many other cities.

San Francisco has always been the playground for Americans. It is a clean, healthy playground and courtesy and welcome permeates the atmosphere everywhere.

I know that our delegates and visitors who were members of our organization to that memorable convention were grateful beyond my power to explain and that what they experienced in their contacts with our people in San Francisco, our delegates and friends, will bring back that message of cooperation and friendliness which surrounded us everywhere during the American Federation of Labor convention.

So to the membership of Joint Council No. 7 and to Charles Real of Oakland Local No. 70, who was the chairman, due to the illness of Vice-President McLaughlin, I tender our deep appreciation and gratefulness for their courtesy, their reception, their entertainment and their sincere friendship to us during our very pleasant stay in the Golden Gate City.

Taft Has Another Idea—Less Pay

Senator Renews Fight on Controls to Stop Inflation

SENATOR TAFT, who recently said the solution of high prices was to eat less, has come up with another one.

He says that price controls and rationing mean higher prices and less food. That is a strange contradiction. If rationing means less food, then everybody will eat less. And less food will mean lower prices, according to Taft.

So if it is less food Taft wants, he should be for rationing, according to the weird economic formula he has worked out.

This is the same Taft who said a couple of years ago that repeal of price controls would mean *more* food and *lower* prices.

We all remember how that prediction came out.

And we hope that somebody remembers that THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER was practically the only voice raised in protest against the abolition of controls because we said it would bring inflation.

We were right and Taft was wrong.

And we are right once again when we say that unless the cost of living is brought under control, prices will continue to rise until we have a general collapse.

The cost of living cannot be brought under control by any of the silly formulas proposed by Taft.

One of his most recent is that labor unions should "temper" their wage demands. In other words, ask for less money so they can have less food, no doubt.

He further suggests that business men should "try" to hold their prices down and that people should save 5 per cent of their incomes.

When Taft says that business men should "try" to hold prices down he admits that they are too high. And he should know by experience that business will not voluntarily keep prices down.

Therefore, if it is necessary to keep prices down, as Taft admits, the only way to do it is by legislation. That means price control.

But Taft is against price control. In addition to that, he has favored policies which encourage prices to go higher and higher. He favored repeal of the excess profits tax and his influence helped repeal it.

With price controls and the excess profits tax removed, business was given the green light by Congress to make all the money it could. And the profits since have been the greatest ever.

If the excess profits tax had been kept, the motive for price increases would have been removed because the government would have taken such a large part of the exorbitant profits in taxation.

When Congress removed this tax it gave business an inducement to boost prices, which, in turn, increased profits. Thus the higher prices go, the more money business makes.

Taft can talk forever and he will never persuade business to reduce prices as a noble gesture. There are no cash dividends on noble gestures and it is dividends that business demands.

When Taft says that everyone should save 5 per cent of his income he is reverting to his eat less program. The average wage earner today is not worrying about saving money. He is worrying about making his wages cover the

cost of food, clothing and housing. To do this, the average family has been spending its savings.

Savings are vanishing. They are going to pay current expenses and as a family exhausts its savings, its standard of living declines.

When Taft urges labor to be more moderate in its demands, he is engaging in the popular political pastime of blaming labor for the high cost of living.

There is no question but that prices go up every time wages do. But they do not need to. And prices do not go up only enough to cover the wage increase. They go higher.

In this way business not only takes away every wage increase but it takes away more.

As a rough illustration, suppose a man makes \$40 per week and finds that it is costing him \$45 per week for food, rent, clothes and other requirements of his family.

And suppose that his union immediately demands a \$5 weekly increase so that he can break even. By the time the man gets his \$5 wage raise he finds that the cost of living has gone up so that it costs him not \$45 per week to live, but \$52.

He is worse off than before he got his pay raise because then he was only going in the hole \$5 per week. After the raise he is \$7 in the hole each week.

Of course that is a very much simplified example. But it illustrates what every family in the country knows today—the prices are rising faster than wages and that month by month it is getting worse off.

Labor is caught in a terrific squeeze in which it is virtually helpless without action by the government.

If labor does not ask for wage increases, it can't get by. And if it does get wage increases, it can't get by either.

It is useless to keep increasing wages as long as the cost of living goes disproportionately higher with each increase.

For years this publication has pointed out that wages never win a race with prices. It has repeatedly urged federal action to prevent such a race. Such races always end in wild inflation and eventually in economic collapse, bringing depression, unemployment and wholesale suffering.

We have said before, and we repeat it with conviction, that our form of democratic, free government cannot survive another depression in view of the general conditions throughout the world.

The United States would emerge from another depression as a totalitarian state, with labor and business operating under rigid federal restriction setting everybody's income and the prices everybody pays for everything.

This kind of system would bring other changes easy to forecast but whenever anyone forecasts unpleasant things he is called a Communist.

And who calls him a Communist? The very people who are creating the inflation which will create the depression which will create the totalitarian state.

Many of the big business men now harvesting billions of dollars in yearly profits fully understand where they are going. They do not fear a totalitarian state because they believe they will control it.

They are not opposed to dictatorship if they are the dictators.

But to the average man, a dictatorship is just as evil and just as cruel under one name as another. It makes no difference whether it is under Stalin in Russia, Franco in Spain or Peron in Argentina. The worker is still a slave of the state and it makes no difference in

his status to whom he must bow as his master.

That the stage is being set for a stream-lined style of American dictatorship is fearfully apparent to anyone watching the trend.

While Congress repeals the laws that hold inflation in check, it enacts new laws which make it difficult for labor to fight inflation.

The Taft-Hartley Act, in addition to drastically circumscribing the activities of unions, prohibits them from engaging in political action.

As a consequence, labor unions are enjoined from fighting the re-election of congressmen and senators who are forming a new kind of dictatorship

under the name of free enterprise in the United States.

We are not fooled by the fancy names they give it. We see it for what it is. And our enemies know that we see it. That is why we have new laws preventing us from rallying our men and our money to stop it.

It is probable that prices may recede a little before the election so that people will believe that conditions are improving and will not rush to the polls to defeat the legislators who removed all the restrictions from business and put them on labor.

If such men are re-elected, the United States will enter the hour of its greatest peril.

Rent Boards Loaded With Foes of Control

If President Truman had appointed four active trade unionists to the new five-man National Labor Relations Board, the daily newspapers and the radio commentators would have raised a hue and cry from one end of the land to the other.

The Machinist has exposed the action of some governors who are packing the

rent control boards with real estate brokers, landlords, their attorneys and business friends—all men who stand to gain financially if rent controls can be killed.

Yet there is no protest in the daily newspapers, and no mention of this action by the radio commentators.—*The Machinist*.

Each Price Boost is a Wage Reduction

Certainly the worker seeks more wages. His standard of life and that of his family depends on what can be purchased in goods and services with the wages received. Every rise in costs is a reduction in wages.

Organized labor did not ask for this merry-go-round. We sought the maintenance of price controls. The well-being of Canada requires that its citizens have a buying power in balance with their productive ability.

People generally are not getting a fair

share of technical progress and the increased possibilities of production to which they are fully entitled.

We again repeat that every citizen of Canada able and willing to work is entitled to employment at a rate of wages or salary that will provide a good home and comfort to himself and his family and that the fear of want and insecurity must be eliminated for the whole of their lives.—*The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress Journal*.

Few Jobs Open on Heavy Trucks

Employment Opportunity to be Limited for Few Years

From the United States Employment Service

JOB prospects for heavy truck drivers are now poor, according to a recent survey. Demand for additional workers is modest; only a slight expansion is planned. Replacement needs are few.

The field is now crowded with fully and partially qualified job seekers, a great many of whom are veterans. Employment opportunities for new workers will continue to be limited for the next few years.

Continued long-range uptrend in the use of heavy trucks for cargo transportation, however, may open up some 10,000 jobs annually, the survey disclosed. An estimated 15,000 more will be hired to replace deaths and separations. Nevertheless, neither expansion nor replacement needs are expected to absorb the present surplus of heavy truck drivers.

Current employment of drivers of heavy trucks (three tons or more, including semi-trailers and trailers) is estimated to be between 300,000 and 350,000—a considerable increase over prewar levels and somewhat above high wartime employment.

Heavy truck drivers are employed in many industries, but are most heavily concentrated in trucking and warehousing for hire. The occupation is also important in construction, wholesale and retail distribution, petroleum extraction and marketing, logging, sawmills, and in all types of mining and quarrying.

Earnings are usually higher in over-the-road driving and for larger trucks as determined by capacity, gross weight, number of axles, or type of vehicle

(truck, semi-trailer, or trailer). Drivers on construction work and petroleum distribution often get top wages in the area for the occupation.

Geographic differentials prevail in the usual pattern, with wage rates generally below the national average in southern states and above in west coast states.

Workers covered by union agreements almost always have higher basic hourly or mileage rates than non-covered workers.

In local trucking, wages are generally computed by the hour, sometimes by the week, and occasionally by the month.

For over-the-road hauls, drivers may be offered a flat sum for the trip or may be paid by the hour, by the mile, or by a combination of both to allow for driving and other work duty.

On the whole, earnings are high. Hourly rates for experienced workers are predominantly between \$1 and \$1.50, although they range from a low of 70 cents to a high of over \$2.

Weekly take-home pay is strongly influenced by the hours worked and by provisions for overtime pay, which may begin anywhere from over 35 to 54 hours per week or 7 to 10 hours per day. Weekly earnings run from \$30 to \$100, but fall most commonly between \$40 and \$65.

Hours range from 35 to 72 a week and may be highly irregular, depending on the type of product carried, the distance of the haul, and the volume of business.

Generally only experienced drivers

are hired. Veteran applicants who have had only military experience are not usually considered fully qualified. Physical standards are high; age limits are

usually between 21 and 40. Drivers are required to have enough mechanical ability to make minor emergency repairs on the road.

British Labor Speeds Production

Despite Ration Cuts, Optimism Grows in England

By GORDON SCHAFFER
British Information Services

THERE is a mood of optimism in Britain today. During recent weeks there have been new cuts in rations and clothing. Abolition of basic gasoline rations has provoked protests from many sections of the people. The newspapers are far from reconciled to the drastic curtailment of paper. Nevertheless, despite all these setbacks, the feeling is growing that through all the difficulties Britain is going ahead.

Significantly, the man making the headlines recently was Edwin Green-slade of South Wales, who dug 145 tons of coal in less than six shifts. Green-slade, not content with that record, then stated he was going all out to set up an all-time record by mining 40 tons in a single shift.

His closest competitor dug 117 tons in four and a half shifts. These stories of production records, not only in the mines, but in the textile mills and other vital sectors of industry, have brought down to workaday terms the production battle which for too long was little more than a theoretical discussion.

The man in the street is beginning to understand that his hopes for the future depend very largely on what is done in the mines and in the factories. And he has been enjoying some very inspiring news. With coal output at a weekly figure of just over four and a quarter million tons, the secretary of the miners'

union, Arthur Horner, has committed himself to the prophecy that there will be no coal shortage crisis this winter, and that within two years we shall be back to our prewar coal exporting capacity.

Horner warned the nation of the danger of the impending crisis last year, and he certainly would not indulge in optimism without good cause.

Then the figures for steel reached a new high record in November, and output is already running at the rate required to reach the 1948 target figure of 14,000,000 tons.

Each week Britain's cotton mills are turning out no less than 43,000,000 yards of cloth. Manufacture of agricultural machinery, of outstanding importance both for Britain's food drive at home and export trade, is rising rapidly. We are building nearly 5,000 tractors a month compared with 800 before World War II, and other farm machines are leaving the factories at a similar rate.

These improvements by no means solve the problem facing the country today. Exports are mounting, but the gap between what Britain needs to buy abroad and what she sells has not been closed. Moreover, the lack of balance in our trade with the dollar area is still a serious problem, for we take 43 per cent of imports from the western hemisphere while that part of the world is buying only 15 per cent of our exports.

Nevertheless what has been accomplished is giving the country the feeling that the remaining problems can be solved. The successful trade deal with Russia carries with it the implication that Harold Wilson, president of the Board of Trade, has been able to guarantee deliveries from British factories of the heavy engineering machinery which the Soviet Union requires.

Other countries in southeastern Europe are also in the market for this type of goods and that means that the heavy engineering industry can look for secure markets for many years ahead provided problems of raw materials can be solved. In its turn such trade pacts will reduce our needs from the dollar area.

These developments certainly will not be lost on the general council of the Trades Union Congress, where it is concerned with the economic situation. There have been protracted discussions between the labor organization and Britain's government and according to present plans the next step will be an all-in conference of trade union executives.

The gathering will be the first of its

kind since the unions were called together to pledge backing to the Dunkirk production drive, and discussions will range over wages, prices, cost of living subsidies, profits and the possibility of modifying trade union customs in order to speed up production.

How far agreement will be reached is difficult to foresee. The trade unions are 100 per cent behind the production drive, but they are determined to safeguard the standards of their members. They will not agree to forego wage increases unless prices are also stabilized and provision is made for improving the standards of the lower paid workers and providing incentives to those responsible for higher output.

The official journal of the Trades Union Congress sums up the situation in these words: "Perhaps the most hopeful feature is the steadiness of mind with which the labor movement generally awaits the outcome of proceedings of such vital importance to the well-being of the workers. Everything, in fact, depends on this unity of purpose."

There are still dangers ahead, but around the corner there is hope.

We Could Trust Taft More than Stassen

It is difficult to understand how men like Governor Stassen, aspiring for public office, can tell the people of the nation, especially the toilers and workers of the nation, that he believes that the Taft-Hartley Act has helped labor or that it has done a great many things for labor.

Such statements are nauseating as well as brutally untrue, especially from one who presumed to advise the people some months ago that he was progressive.

Of course, there is a political purpose in statements made to unfriendly

audiences. The purpose is to play a middle-of-the-road game and try to assure the labor haters in the employing class that the speaker is conservative and that he is not in any way obligated to organized labor. Some of the Democratic candidates are playing the same game and that is why labor is not unified in behalf of either party.

Once in a while the thought runs through our minds that we really could trust a man who speaks outright and tells us he is against labor, like Senator Taft. We at least know he is not bluffing. We know he is against us.

Union Chief Challenges Governor

Radio Speech Proves Turning Point of Boston Strike

CHALLENGING Gov. Bradford of Massachusetts to seize the Boston trucking industry as he had threatened, President James V. Hurst of Local No. 25 delivered a radio speech on January 17 that proved to be the turning point in the Boston strike.

Mr. Hurst accused the governor of unfairness and of injecting himself into the dispute to prevent the union from winning the strike which began on New Year's Day after the old contract expired and after the employers had refused negotiation or arbitration.

The radio speech was announced in advertisements on the first pages of the daily newspapers and drew a huge listening audience which heard Mr. Hurst outline the issues and discuss the possibilities of seizure.

The threat of seizure had been used as a weapon against the union, but Mr. Hurst related what it might mean to the employers.

"A very serious situation confronts the City of Boston and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," Mr. Hurst declared.

"It appears that Gov. Bradford has decided to seize the trucking industry of Boston and to operate it as an agency of the state under the provisions of the Slichter law (a drastic measure passed by the legislature last summer at the governor's request).

"This will establish a precedent that will command the attention of the entire nation. It will also establish a precedent that I am certain will cause great embarrassment to the business men of Massachusetts and to the state itself.

"Suppose, for example, that the state

operates the trucking industry more efficiently than the private owners. And certainly that would not be very hard to do in many instances that I know of.

"Suppose that through this efficiency of state operation, it is possible to raise the wages of the men and reduce the cost of commercial hauling for the benefit of the shippers.

"Naturally, there would be a public demand for the state to keep the trucking industry as a public service, just as many of our progressive cities and states run electric power plants, public street car systems, public markets and other businesses for the benefit of their citizens.

"Many of our more conservative citizens have been appalled at this trend toward public ownership, claiming that it violates the principles of free enterprise and sets the state up in competition with its citizens.

"If Massachusetts shows the nation that it can operate a complicated business like the trucking industry in a more efficient manner than it was ever operated before, it will answer dramatically the charge that public operation is inefficient operation.

"A very interesting experiment will unfold before us the moment Gov. Bradford becomes the state's No. 1 commercial hauler.

"Suppose, however, that the state operates the trucking industry inefficiently. It will then be exposed to the claims of private operators for the money lost during the time the state bungled the job."

Mr. Hurst then stated that the allegations of operators that the Teamster

wage demands were excessive would be answered by examination of the books after the state took over.

He pointed out that if the state took over the trucking companies, the books of the companies would then become public records and would be open to investigation and analysis.

"We will be able to find out exactly what the companies have been earning, and if they have been losing money, we may be able to detect bad business practices which the state can eliminate," he said.

Employers, not only in the trucking industry, but in all others, squirmed as the union official discussed the prospects of state seizure. They saw grave danger of Socialism and further "regimentation" of business.

As long as the Slichter law regimented only labor, they favored it. But when Mr. Hurst emphasized the effect it would have on business, the employers began to put pressure on the governor not to invoke the law.

The Hurst speech broke the ranks of the employers.

It also served notice on the employers that the union would not be intimidated into accepting arbitration under a board that would obviously be prejudiced against labor.

In discussing this point, the Local No. 25 president said:

"Last night (January 16) we were summoned to the state capitol and presented with a proposal by Gov. Bradford, previously agreed to by the employers, that we submit to arbitration by a board to consist of one man to be named by Local No. 25, one man to be named by the employers and the third man to be selected by these two.

"In case the first two men could not agree, as they probably could not, the third man was to be selected by Gov.

Bradford. Up to last night we would have accepted that proposal.

"Now we will not. The events of last night changed our minds. We refuse to accept this arbitration arrangement unless the third man is selected, not by Gov. Bradford, but by Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach.

"We are confident that Mr. Schwellenbach would pick a fair man and a man qualified by a broad knowledge of industrial affairs to be the third man—the deciding vote—on the board of arbitration.

"Mr. Schwellenbach has had wide experience in labor matters, whereas Gov. Bradford admits that he knows very little about the subject. In the face of this admission, Gov. Bradford is not qualified to select the third man on the arbitration board.

"And we are greatly shocked by the manner in which Gov. Bradford attempted to compel us to accept arbitration last night.

"There was absolutely no reason for such a demand at this time. No emergency faces the City of Boston. No emergency ever faced this city, or any other city of the state.

"From the first hour of this strike on New Year's Day we recognized our solemn obligation to the citizens of Boston and we religiously discharged it.

"Up to the time the governor summoned us to his office last night we had signed contracts with 162 trucking companies at the new wage scale. If he had delayed his action, we would have won this strike within 72 hours, because the big companies were beginning to waver.

"There was not the slightest excuse for any talk by the governor of an emergency. The only emergency that existed was in the ranks of the big operators. They were beginning to crack.

"Yesterday, a few hours before the

governor called us in and demanded that we accept arbitration, we had signed up four big companies with 180 pieces of equipment.

"We had signed up two smaller companies with 11 pieces of equipment.

"We were negotiating with a Cleveland trucking company to enter this field and we had signed a contract with a North Carolina company, which moved 100 of its fast, modern trucks into Boston last night to serve the local market.

"You read about these things in the newspapers yesterday. So did the governor. And so did the employers. And it scared the operators to see outside companies moving in to hire Local No. 25 drivers and pay wages that the majority of the local companies refused to pay.

"The local operators knew that the needs of the city would be supplied and they were afraid they would lose many of their customers to their new competitors who provided service when the local companies refused it.

"Yesterday, alone, we signed contracts that put 291 more trucks at the service of Boston industry.

"And yet, at the end of what we believed was our most effective day's work, we were called before the governor and told that an emergency existed which could be met only by our immediate acceptance of arbitration.

"Sitting before the governor in his office last night he insisted that I answer, 'Yes' or 'No' whether I would recommend arbitration to the men of

my union without first assuring myself that the arbitration would be handled fairly.

"I would never agree to such a proposition.

"We maintain that the governor of Massachusetts has no right, at this late date, with our strike practically won, to come in and insist that we write off the hardships and suffering of the last 17 days in favor of what would amount to compulsory arbitration.

"These men deserve more consideration from the governor of their state than to be threatened with seizure of the industry if we refuse to arbitrate a strike that we have virtually won."

Mr. Hurst concluded his address with an announcement that the union would hold a special meeting the following day, January 18, to hear a full report from the policy committee.

He announced that the membership would have an opportunity to approve or disapprove the stand taken by the committee in resisting the pressure of the governor.

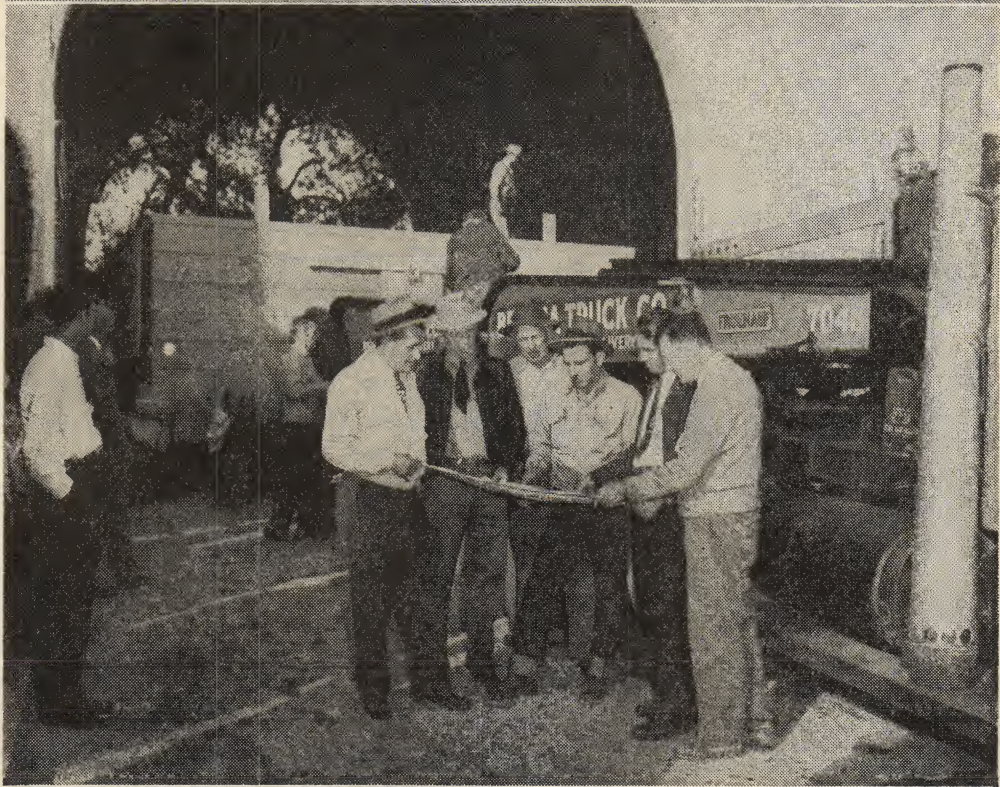
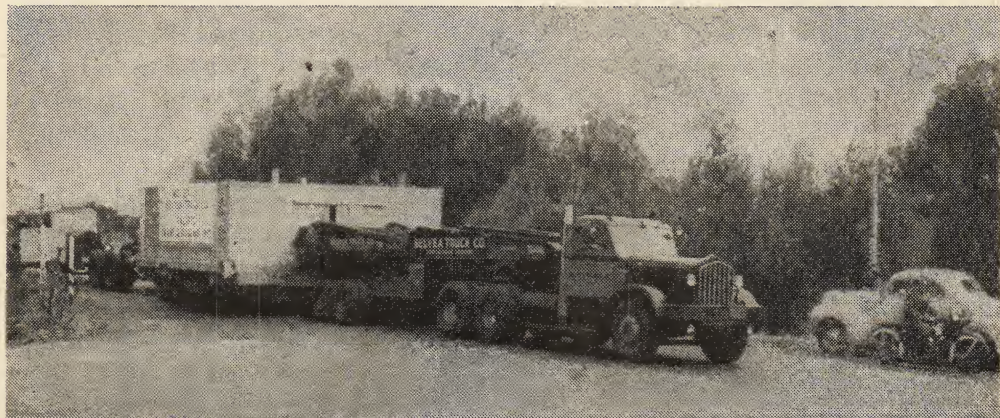
The strikers thronged a municipal auditorium and unanimously and thunderously ratified the action of the policy committee and just as emphatically rebuked the governor.

The next day the governor decided that he had never intended to seize the entire trucking industry, but only the food trucks.

Yet the food trucks had been rolling continuously since the first day of the strike!

The eighth annual meeting of the Southern Conference of Teamsters will be held in Houston, Tex., starting February 29 and ending March 4, according to International Organizer Frank Prohl. The conference has taken a leading part in promoting traffic safety by stimulating state police to enforce laws protecting the public from dangerous drivers. It plans to continue this policy. Mr. Prohl reports consistent headway by the Southern Conference of Teamsters and its affiliates in the big task of organizing the southern states.

Gigantic Mirror Moves



These pictures show steps in the intricate task of moving the 200-inch mirror for the world's largest telescope in California. The job was handled expertly under difficult conditions by members of Line Drivers' Union No. 224 of Los Angeles. The route extended 160 miles, the last lap being up a mountain side through fog and sleet, as described in the January issue. The mirror is now on Mt. Palomar.

Tobin Tells of Northwest Trip

Reports Admiration of Business Men for Labor Leaders

By DANIEL J. TOBIN

THIS is a very brief account of my visit through the states of Oregon and Washington and is only a very faint glimpse of the impressions made on my mind.

Everywhere I went I found, even on the part of big business, yes, the representatives of corporations, enthusiasm and praise and gratitude for the representatives of the Teamsters' Union.

In a meeting with business men in Portland I was deeply affected with the words of commendation I received for the representatives of our unions. This in the face of the fact that a few years ago, in passing through Portland I was advised not to stop over there because big business, labor-hating institutions, were out to seriously embarrass me.

By that I mean they wanted to embarrass me for some reason or another because some of our unions were having a bitter fight with their employers. But I stopped there just the same. On this last visit everything had changed, and changed for the better.

When I say for the better, I mean better understandings prevailed between our people and their employers. No strikes, no stoppages of work and no bitterness, outwardly at least.

Harmony and understanding prevailed between our unions and all our employers and industries during the two or three days that I spent in Portland and in those two or three days I talked to the representatives of our unions from the surrounding towns and districts in the state of Oregon who came to Portland to meet me.

I might say also that the press, in

former years quite antagonistic, was very generous and very fair and quite truthful in its courtesies to me and in its publishing of my every expression and opinion. I had an invitation to go on the air (which I accepted) from one newspaper and used a station controlled by it.

This also is true of Seattle, except that perhaps it could be multiplied because of the greater number of our people and the better feeling that has in recent years prevailed between our unions, the general public, and all our employers.

It was my privilege to drop into the state house in Olympia, Washington, and have a friendly chat with Governor Wallgren. He was always a progressive. He still is a great believer in a better life for the common man and he is of the same opinion as he was years ago when he was in the United States Senate, that the progress of our nation depends on the working man and that the trade union movement has done immeasurable good to all classes within the confines of our country.

The most beautiful state capitol that I have ever seen in this country or, as far as that goes, in other countries, is the capitol of the state of Washington.

It is a credit to that state, and officials of other states with falling down buildings such as the state of Indiana should visit Olympia and try to do something towards improving some of the dilapidated, filthy old state buildings there are in many states.

Seattle is a city in which I was received with open arms by every class in

the community. It is difficult to describe one's feelings at such warm-hearted, generous and sincere good fellowship.

The Teamsters' Union is a great influence in the labor movement in that city and the Teamsters' Union does not abuse its strength, its power and its influence. It has its own building, which is perhaps the most beautiful and most serviceable and businesslike labor headquarters of any in our country—well and conveniently located and purchased and erected at a very reasonable cost and worth about four times the original cost.

Everything they have done in the last 25 years, through the cooperation of all the unions in the joint council, has been a success and a safe, businesslike investment. Unity and harmony prevail even though they sometimes have honest disagreements.

All agents and employees of the local unions work together where necessity requires. There is no jealousy, there is no hatred—cooperation is the key word of everything done there by the representatives of the Teamsters' Union in that great city and its surrounding neighborhoods.

Because of the cleanliness of character of the men who represent our Teamsters' Union, because of their business ability and their forward first thought of doing justice to all, including their employers, they are, in my judgment, after all my years of service in the labor movement, a credit to the labor movement and the greatest benefit to both their membership, who come first, and to business interests in Seattle and the state of Washington.

Those people are respected and admired and they don't get swelled heads, because if they did, that is, if any of them thought they were indispensable

they would not have reached the position that they now occupy in the minds of the public and they would shortly become useless.

One of the finest meetings that I have enjoyed attending and addressing in recent years was held in the city of Seattle under the auspices of the joint council. The hall was filled to overflowing and I was happy to note that there were a good many women present, the wives of our members, also many of them members of our local unions.

With all the struggles and sufferings and tortures that we have endured, it is good to know and to see and to have lived to witness this great, constructive transformation in the lives and the better conditions of our general membership. Above and beyond and perhaps greater than this, is to live now, after all the misunderstandings and crimes that were committed against us, and bear witness to the fact that industry, honest industry and honest capital and honorable employers have the courage and the honesty to make the statement that we have helped to pull them up, in many instances, from conditions of cut-throat competition where those employers were starving to death, by our insistence that they do better by their workers and thereby have better men.

Those honest employers, unstintedly and with sincerity, are grateful to the Teamsters all through the Northwest for the service that union has rendered not only to their membership, but to them as employers.

I am sure no one will misinterpret this statement and call it an exaggeration, for if they doubt it, I want those individuals to check its truth for themselves and they can verify the statements I have made here.

My visit to the Bremerton Navy Yard, the largest navy yard in our coun-

try, a naval institution that accomplished almost miracles during the war; I repeat, my visit there and the information that I received, was something that I cannot find words to describe.

Some of the information that I received from two admirals of our navy who accompanied me and the others in our party I cannot disclose, but much as I have hated war, I supported with all that was in me the last two wars because there was nothing else for an American to do.

I hope I do not live to witness another war. I wish I could disclose to our membership what I had seen and witnessed and heard from authentic sources as a result of my visit to the Bremerton Navy Yard, which, by the way, is 100 per cent organized, but I think I can make this statement: that the atom bomb dropped in Japan which destroyed everything within miles was only a miniature bomb compared with what the next atom bomb will be if it is ever used in war or in the destruction of the world, which is in reality what it is capable of doing.

What will the next atom bomb be able to destroy—four or five times as powerful and destructive and one-fifth as large and one-sixth as heavy, I repeat, what will happen to this civilization? It is fearful to contemplate.

After having lunch with many of the distinguished officers of the yard, from admirals down, we went on our way impressed with what we had seen and heard, although not fully able to visualize the power of destruction which has been created by the brain of man and which was noticeable everywhere within the Bremerton Navy Yard.

In our travels through the yard and in our trip to and from there we were accompanied by United States Senator

Magnuson, a highly intelligent man and very helpful to me.

He was a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs in the United States Senate.

He takes pride in saying that during vacation season, when he was going to college, he was a member of our organization.

He is one of the few outstanding labor friends that the organized workers have in the United States Senate and he, of course, is free to admit and happy to declare that the organized workers of the state of Washington are mainly responsible for the great honor conferred upon him by electing him to the United States Senate. Leading in the ranks of that organized labor movement in the state of Washington is the Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The labor movement is in for hard and bitter days in the near future. Hardly any of us understand the plottings that are now contemplated through adverse legislation to be aimed against labor in the next year or perhaps after the next general election.

I am satisfied that the general membership does not realize the danger and that those men in political offices are backed up by every power that can be obtained by clever, educated men and by money.

The publicity campaign, which is almost universal throughout the nation against labor now, is to be continued and perhaps, if possible, intensified.

They may let down the bars a little during the campaign this year but that will be only temporary. Labor is in for dark days and while those men now in control of the reins of government and who may be in power in 1949 believe that they are doing something for America, they in reality will live, some of them, to regret the abuse of this power

which they are exercising now, or in the near future, against labor.

They are driving the conservative, honest-thinking, fearless men of labor away from business and they will continue to drive more to the left and we are going to have as a result of this anti-labor legislation created in this country a distinctive class war, something which we have not experienced or suffered from since the days in which the foundation was laid for the organized labor movement of America.

It is going to be worker against capitalist in the future if this tyranny, this abuse of power on the part of unfair, antagonistic capital continues to prevail, as I am afraid it will, due to the brutal ignorance of many of the unfair employing class who are controlled and owned by the money bags of the nation centered in New York.

But from out of this dark tide of distrust and hatred and bitterness and persecution will come a better day because the masses of the toilers will eventually succeed. The danger then is that the masses may abuse their power by remembering the days of their persecution.

However, for the immediate future it necessitates that the men of labor, the

great multitudes who have been helped by the unions, will watch their step, try to observe the laws, attend their meetings, support their officers when those officers are duly elected. Make your labor union your first thought in the business affairs of your life because if they destroy your union your enemies will greedily drive you and those who come after you into slavery and then create a condition bordering on serfdom. Then only a revolution will give you again a semblance of liberty, and what American wants to see or live to experience such a condition in our American life?

It is my opinion that there are sufficient men who have read history, and who are witnessing the destruction of civilization today in many parts of the world, I repeat, it is my opinion that that kind of men will have sufficient influence on those would-be destroyers of labor to hold them in check before it is too late and that there will be a sufficient amount of a reasonable balance in big business to see the light sufficiently clearly to know that the trampling of either party by another party in our country is not the answer to progress, or the real remedy for a troubled world.

Too Much "Prosperity" for Organized Labor

The National Association of Manufacturers, and other long-standing critics of organized labor, could not bear to see a period of prosperity continue long—labor was simply making too much money for its own good and would have to be brought down to earth—possibly even to selling apples on the streets for a living, as the veterans did after World War I. NAM seemingly would prefer to see the workers grovel for their jobs to having them continue to receive a living wage and

enjoy life in the bosom of their families.

As Senator Pepper so aptly pointed out in a radio talk, the Republican-Democratic coalition that put through the Taft-Hartley bill was responsible for returned war veterans having to live in hovels, the failure of national health, old-age pension and social welfare legislation. The main thought of this crowd in Washington apparently was to jeopardize the health and welfare of persons having to work for a living.—*Miami Citizen*.

Protect the Public Interest

LONG before the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act it was the policy of the International Union to protect the public interest during strikes. Sometimes, in the heat and confusion of a strike, local unions have neglected this. Generally, however, they have taken immediate steps to see that necessary supplies of food, fuel and medicines are kept moving.

Even in strikes of drivers hauling those essentials, the union must see that enough deliveries are made to safeguard the public against hardship and suffering.

Local No. 229 of Scranton, Pa., in a recent milk strike, showed a regard for the public interest that won many friends for the union and actually helped it win the strike.

The union opened its picket lines to permit deliveries of enough milk to supply children and invalids.

It was the pressure of these new friends that forced the employers to yield to the union demands without a long and costly strike.

Organized labor needs friends badly today under the current barrage of punitive state and federal legislation. Public opinion can change those laws and it will change those laws if labor shows the responsibility and statesmanship to consider the public interest before its own selfish advantage, as did Local No. 229.

This was not an isolated instance in Scranton. We cite it because it was a recent instance and is still fresh in the public memory. Every new instance of consideration by a union will revive the memory of past consideration given the public welfare by labor.

Under our complicated and interlocking social system, any strike is a prospective threat to innocent bystanders. A strike is no longer merely a private fight between an employer and his workers.

It is because of that obvious fact that legislators, clamoring for laws to protect the public, have been able to hit labor a savage blow.

If labor itself protects the public, there can be no excuse for such laws and the public will join us in demanding their repeal.

Even in strikes not involving the necessities of life, consideration pays big dividends. In an Indianapolis trucking strike, the union permitted the delivery of perishables caught in transit.

This aroused public support with the result that the union won a higher settlement in eight days than it might otherwise have obtained in eight weeks. The employers were set for a long strike, but they yielded swiftly to public opinion.

Before a union strikes it should make plans to see that nobody is needlessly injured.

Protection of the public interest must be part of the strike strategy of every union unless organized labor is to be seriously injured.

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